



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

ART XVI.—*On the Identity of Xandrames and Krananda.*

By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq.

AT the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, on the 21st Nov., 1864, I undertook the task of establishing the identity of the Xandrames of Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius, the undesignated king of the Gangetic provinces of other Classic Authors—with the potentate whose name appears on a very extensive series of local mintages under the bilingual Bactrian and Indo-Pali form of *Krananda*.

With the very open array of optional readings of the name afforded by the Greek, Latin, Arabic, or Persian transcriptions, I need scarcely enter upon any vindication for concentrating the whole circle of misnomers in the doubly authoritative version the coins have perpetuated: my endeavours will be confined to sustaining the reasonable probability of the contemporaneous existence of Alexander the Great and the Indian *Krananda*; to exemplifying the singularly appropriate geographical currency and abundance of the coins themselves; and lastly to recapitulating the curious evidences bearing upon *Krananda*'s individuality, supplied by indigenous annals, and their strange coincidence with the legends preserved by the conterminous Persian epic and prose writers, occasionally reproduced by Arab translators, who, however, eventually sought more accurate knowledge from purely Indian sources.

In the course of this inquiry, I shall be in a position to show, that *Krananda* was the prominent representative of the regnant fraternity of the “*nine Nandas*,” and his coins, in their symbolic devices, will demonstrate for us, what no written history, home or foreign, has as yet explicitly declared, that the *Nandas* were Buddhists. Hence we may now conclusively infer, that the revolution which placed Chandra Gupta on the throne, was the result of an effort of Brahmanism to supplant the State Religion, successful for

the time, inasmuch as their priests continued to hold the consciences of this king and his son *Vindusára* after him, while the grandson, Aśoka, though educated in his father's creed, reverted, shortly after his accession, to the local faith, of which he subsequently became so energetic a promoter.

In asserting that the Nandas were Buddhists it is by no means necessary to declare that their creed was identical with the advanced and reformed faith sanctioned by the 3rd Synod under Aśoka's auspices ; indeed, there is good reason to conclude that the belief of those days retained much of the old leaven of primitive magic and cognate impostures,¹ combined with certain surviving elements of local demonolatry, freely intermixed with rites derived from Scythic and other exotic mythologies : as, under a like law of progressive development, the contrast between this phase of the ancient

¹ An incident in the life of Buddha, related in the *Dulva*, would seem to imply that even among his own relations Śākyā's success was supposed to be connected with the practice of Magic. "Lhas-byin, one of Śākyā's cousins, the model of a malignant and rancorous person. How he endeavours to acquire the knowledge of the magical art, or of performing prodigies. He applies to Śākyā, and upon his refusal to his principal disciples." (As. Res. xx. p. 84). "Astrology related by Śākyā," 516. In another place, however (p. 70), "an astrologer" is stated to have been "converted to Buddhism." The traditions of ancient magic and similar delusions may well have retained a place in domestic legends, over extensive tracts of outlying country, ready to reassert themselves at any moment, under similar conditions of society—which in its singular stagnation retained below the surface most of these ancient elements intact, prepared alike for the reformers, or at the service of those who desired to rehabilitate the older creeds under the mask of the more advanced religions current in the land—which tendency may possibly in itself account for the reception of so many early heresies and marked absurdities into the later Tantrik rituals ; See Wilson's Essays on the Religion of the Hindus, ii. p. 75 ; As. Res. xvi., xvii. For other references to magic, see Wilson's Works, Trübner, London, 1862, i. 23, 26, 248, 255 ; ii. 377 ; iii. 168, 175 (Yoga Nanda) 354 (Magic taught) 368, 373 ; iv. 130, 152 ; v. 109 (Yoga) 143. Mr. Caldwell has instituted an interesting inquiry into the ancient religion of the Drávidians, the result of which he states as follows : "On comparing this Drávidian system of demonolatry and sorcery with 'Shamanism'—the superstition which prevails amongst the Ugrian races of Siberia and the hill tribes on the south-western frontier of China, which is still mixed up with the Buddhism of the Mongols, and which was the old religion of the whole Tartar race before Buddhism and Mohammedanism were disseminated amongst them—we cannot avoid the conclusion that those two superstitions, though practised by races so widely separated, are not only similar but identical."—Drávidian Grammar, p. 519. A connexion Mr. Hodgson has further illustrated, J.R.A.S. xviii. p. 397. See also Maháwanso, p. xlvi. "It would appear that the prevailing religion in Lanká, at that period, was the demon or *yakkha* worship."

For further illustrations of the general question, see J. R. A. S. ; Stevenson, v. pp. 189-216 : vi. 239 ; vii. pp. 1-64 ; Wilson, xii. 238 ; xiii. 105, 273 ; Briggs, xiii. pp. 282 (note 7), 285, 290, 304.

religion and that of the nineteenth century is exemplified by the limited theological range of the Edicts of Aśoka, which on their first publication were pronounced by a very high authority to be altogether wanting in the spirit of later Buddhism.¹

Both Buddhism and Brahmanism borrowed largely from préexisting local ideas and superstitions, of which they are found to hold so much in common; neither one nor the other need be deemed a simple emanation from or reform of its rival, but both admitted with little reserve many of the vague realizations already formulated in situ, where priest-craft had been aided by growing civilization, parallel intellectual culture, and occasional contributions from without, in building up religious systems adapted to the credulity and courting the adhesion of the community at large.

Buddhism confesses to an Indian home, Brahmanism seeks to conceal its obligations to similar local influences, but if the pure Aryans in their other migrations arrived at no parallel theogony, no like perfection of speech, their southern section must in all reason be made to concede much to the philosophy and literary refinement of the nation, among whom these pretendedly independent advances were accomplished; more especially must they submit to some such admission, now that the internal evidence of their *own* Vedas has proved conclusively what crude barbarians they were on their first entry into the Punjáb, and what erudite scholars and immaculate hierarchs they represent themselves, with more or less reason, to have become, during their progress towards and residence on the banks of the Saraswati. Hence, the less the matured faiths of the twin Aryan races of Persia and India are found to accord, the more must the latter and less accessible soil claim to have changed the spirit which dominated over the one and the other in their joint *nidus*.

If the simple Aryan faith verged towards Chaldean originals in Persia, analogous causes may naturally have produced similar results in the devotional culture of the more easterly migration, and Brahmanism need scarcely resent the

¹ Wilson, J.R.A.S. xii. p. 236.]

inference that some of the afflatus of its early success was derived from the exoteric worship and religious tendencies prevailing in the land in which its organizers were avowedly domesticated. Carrying out these comparisons of geographical influence and ethnic predilections upon divergence of ritualism, it may be doubted whether greater and more direct effects were not often due to subdivisional or provincial jealousies, and whether such tendencies may not materially have affected both Brahmanism and Buddhism in their indigenous growth. Sákyá's mission, issuing from the land of his nativity, Kapila, was mainly confined in its immediate contemporary progress to Magadha or Behár;¹ we hear nothing of its effects upon the people of the upper Jumna, while the course of Brahmanic institutions after their adaptation from crude Vedic conceptions and amalgamation with the tenets obtaining on the banks of the Saraswati, was clearly downwards from the chosen *Brahmarshi*, towards the kingdoms of the mid-Ganges, where Sákyá's teaching had been so well received.² This suggestion again opens out a larger field of enquiry as to whether the Brahmanical element in its religious significance is not typified amid the ancient legends, of the *Chandra Vanśas* and the *Puravas* of the north,³ as opposed to the popular history of the *Súrya Vanśas* of Oude,⁴ who supported the less mixed and more locally matured faith of Gautama.

The classic historians of Alexander the Great, in adverting to his final halt on the banks of the Hyphasis, refer to the information incidentally obtained on the spot regarding the monarch of the Gangetic kingdoms, whose numerically overwhelming forces the Macedonian army must have been prepared to encounter had their leader persuaded them to advance further into India. Diodorus Siculus has preserved the name of the king in ques-

¹ J. A. S. B. vii. 1013. *Dulva. As. Res.* xx. pp. 61, 64, 65-74, 89, 91, 290, and especially p. 435.

² *Manu.* ii. § 17.

³ See the coin figured as No. 1, Plate vii. vol. i. Prinsep's Essays, J. A. S. B. iii. pl. xxv. fig. 1. On this piece we have possibly the first instance of the use of the detached half-moon associated with the name of the Vishṇu deva in the old Pali characters. It is instructive to note further the Royal title of Chandra Gupta, and the real name of Cháṇakya, i.e. *Vishṇu Gupta*. See also St. Martin, *Jour. des Sav.* vol. v. (1858) p. 142.

⁴ Turnour, *Mahawanso*, p. 9; J. A. S. B. vii. 927.

tion under the Greek transcription of Ξανδράμης,¹ and Quintus Curtius reproduces it in Latin as Aggrammes.² Whatever may be the imperfection of the phonetic rendering of *Xandrames*, as representing the oral sound of *Krañanda*, it is abundantly clear that the names of Ξανδράμης and Σανδρόκυππτος were not primarily derived from one and the same Indian designation, notwithstanding that Xandrames, or the localized *Chandramas*, may be ingeniously converted into a similitude of Chandra Gupta.³ The toning down of Xand-

¹ Ακούσας δὲ τὸν Φηγέων περὶ τῆς πέραν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν χώρας ὥπει δάδεκα μὲν ἡμέρων ἔχει διοδὸν ἔρημον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτην εἶναι ποταμὸν τὸν ὄνομαζόμενον Γάγγην, τὸ μὲν πλάτος τριάκοντα καὶ δυοῖν σταδίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, πέραν δὲ τούτου κατοικεῖν τὸ τε τῶν Πραισῶν καὶ Γανδαριδῶν ζήνος, τούτων δὲ βασιλεύειν Ξανδράμην. ἔχοντα δισμυρίους μὲν ἵππεῖς, πεζῶν δὲ εἴκοσι μυριάδας, ἄρματα δὲ δισχλια, ἐλέφαντας δὲ πολεμικῶς κεκοπιμένους τετρακοσιχλίους, ἀπιστήσας δὲ τοῖς λεγομένοις προσεκαλέσατο τὸν Πάρον, καὶ περὶ τῶν προσαγγελλομένων τάκριβες διεπυνθάνετο. δὲ τάλλα μὲν ὑπάρχειν ἀπαντα ἀληθῆ διεβασιοῦντο, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Γανδαριδῶν ἔφεσεν εὐτελῆ παντελῶς εἶναι καὶ ἔδοξον ὡς ἀν κουρέως νίδν νομιζόμενον εἶναι εὐπρεπῆ γάρ ὅτα τὸν τούτου πατέρα μεγάλως ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλίσσης ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δολοφονθέντος εἰς τοῦτον περιστῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν.—Diod. Sic. xvii. c. 93.

² ix. i. § 35. Relicto igitur Sophite in suo regno, ad fluvium Hypasini processit, Herpestione, qui diversam regionem subegrebat, conjuncto. 36. Phœgus erat gentis proximæ rex, qui, popularibus suis 'colere agros, ut assueverant,' jussis, Alexandro cum donis occurrit; nihil quod imperaret detrectans.

ii. § 1. Biduum apud cum substitut rex: tertio die amnem superare decreverat, transitu difficilem, non spatio solum aquarum, sed etiam saxis impeditum. 2. Percontatus igitur I'hegea, quæ noscenda erant, 'xi dierum ultra flumen per vastas solitudines iter esse?' cognoscit: 'excipere deinde Gangem, maximum totius Indiæ fluminum: 3. ulteriore ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios; corumque regem esse Aggrammem, xx millibus equitum ducentisque peditum obsidentem vias: 4. ad hæc quadrigarum duo millia trahere et præcipuum terrorem elephantes, quos trium millium numerum expiere' dicebat. [Five variants of the name are given, Agramen, Agramem, Agrame, Agramen, Aggramem.] 5. Incredibilia regi omnia videbantur: igitur P'orum (nam cum eo erat) percontatur, 'an vera essent, quæ dicerentur?' 6. Ille 'vires quidem gentis et regni haud falso jactari' affirmat; 'ecterum, qui regnaret, non modo ignobilem esse, sed etiam ultimæ sortis: quippe patrem ejus tonsorem vix diurno quæstu propulsantem famem, propter habitum haud indecorum, cordi fuisse reginæ: 7. ab ea in propiorem ejus, qui tunc regnasset, amicitie locum admotum, intersecto eo per insidias, sub specie tutelæ liberum ejus invassisse regnum; necatisque pueris hunc, qui nunc regnat, generasse, invisinum vilenique popularibus, magis paternæ fortunæ, quam sue memorem.'—Quintus Curtius, ed. Delph. London, 1825, vol. ii. 676.

³ Wilford, Asiatic Researches, v. p. 286. Max Müller, Sanskrit Lit. p. 279.

The jealous scrutiny to which the action of the Patent Laws in England has lately been subjected, has shown how few modern ideas are positively and completely original. Hence, it becomes the duty of the humblest aspirant for the honors of even a new combination, to record, in all fullness, any previously published suggestions towards the same end; however little they may have conduced to the immediate and ultimate result be undertaken to announce. As far as my guidance towards an identification of Xandrames and Nanda is concerned, the earliest claim must unhesitatingly be conceded to the

mas into Aggrammes need suggest no more difficulty than the elision of the Σ in *Ἀνδρόκοττος*, or other more gross perversions of the indigenous term. So also in regard to the very circumstantial statements of the low origin of Xandrames, as tending to connect him to such an extent with Chandra Gupta, the confessedly questionable offspring of Nanda! These detrac-
tive charges, in themselves, would scarcely serve to establish any identity, even if the whole question of any intentional association of Xandrames and Chandra Gupta by the classical authors at large was not set at rest by Plutarch's definitive discrimination of the two individuals in closely connected passages of his text. Possibly his mention of the authority for the statement may point to the true explanation why the extinct dynasty came to be so well abused when Chandra Gupta himself became the accuser, who may naturally have sought to obscure his own special defects in the vilification of his predecessors. Quintus Curtius manifestly applies after-
events to *the* Nanda, whose name had so imperfectly reached Alexander's contemporaries, in the allusion to the Queen (Mura), the Brahman Chāṇakya, who kills off the other sons, and who begets or advances the last *reputed* son of the old monarch. On the other hand, Arrian, with more critical

much abused Wilford; to whom, I think, fair credit has never yet been given by succeeding critics. It was easy to say an Englishman was in the hands of his Pandits in those days; they *all* were!—but the singular fact remains, of how much information, based upon honest though imperfect interpretation, and how comprehensive, though at times overstrained, a faculty his master mind was able to bring to bear on the amalgamation and elucidation of Eastern and Western knowledge, as tried by either one or the other test in India, at the commencement of the present century.

Wilford, in 1797, endeavoured to substantiate the identity of Xandrames and Chandra Gupta, under the approximate rendering of *Chandramas* as the local equivalent of both the Greek and the Sanskrit version of the real name (As. Res. v. 286). He subsequently, in 1807, clearly abandoned this mere suggestion, and took up the position that the Xandrames of Alexander's historians was simply the reigning Nanda of that day (As. Res. ix. 94). Max Müller, possibly without being aware of the one assimilation, or the other more complete association, seems to accept in a measure the nominal similitude, though securing himself by supposing that Xandrames might be "the same as the last Nanda" (Sanskrit Literature, p. 279). General Cunningham, who has always had a leaning towards phonetics—in his younger and bolder days used to say that Kuṇḍa, as the name so manifestly suggested, was one of the nine Nandas—but as even this "courageous etymologist," as Wilson called him (J. R. A. S. xvi. 230), has not ventured to adhere to his guess in his more mature writings (Bhilsa Topes, 1854, p. 355), I conclude he will not now seek to disturb the grave of Wilford.

acumen, concedes all honour to the ruling powers beyond the Hyphasis, as he even partially realised the merit of the oligarchical form of government obtaining in those provinces,¹ in apposition with and contrast to the monarchical institutions prevailing to the westward, where Alexander's early conquests had first impressed the Greek mind with a notion of local customs: an indication which, however vague, may prove of important significance in the present inquiry.

The Arab authors—usually mere copyists from the Persians, who claim to have preserved all ancient traditions in their exclusive Pahlavi writings—though dating later in point of time, naturally follow, in the order of this enquiry, the classical and equally foreign exponents of Indian history. Their evidence, whether in text or translation, may still carry with it the mark of high authenticity, especially if it retains in itself signs of original truth, and indications of derivation, however imperfect in details from contemporaneous sources. Notwithstanding the many marked historical coincidences and other connecting analogies, it would have been venturesome to have based the identification of Ξανδράμης and the *Krañanda* of the coins upon the imperfect similitude of the two names as they stood in simple relation to each other; but the retention of the designation in the form of *Kand* by the Arabic authors, restores the most important element of the name in the initial K. Masāudi, who follows Ibn Mokaffā (Obiit. 277 A.H.), in his Indian history, tells us that Alexander, after having disposed of Porus, entered into correspondence with one of the most powerful kings of India

¹ Lib. Ixii. 8: 'Ελέγοντο γὰρ ὀκτὼ μὲν μυριάδας ἵπποτῶν, ἕκοισι δὲ πεζῶν, ἄρματα δὲ ὀκτακισχλία καὶ μαχίμους ἐλέφαντας ἔξακισχιλίους ἔχοντες οἱ Γανδαριτῶν καὶ Πραισῶν βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν. Καὶ κύμπος οὐκοῦ ἦν περὶ ταῦτα. 'Ανδρόκοττος γὰρ ὑστερον οὐ πολλῷ βισιλεύσας Σελείνιφ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας ἔδωρήσατο καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάδιν ἔχηκοντα τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἄπασαν καταστρεφθείνεν. . . . Ixii. 26: 'Ανδρόκοττος δὲ μειράκιον ὡν αὐτὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οἶδα καὶ λέγεται πολλάκις εἰπεῖν ὑστερον, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν ἥλθε τὰ πρόγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, μισουμένου τε καὶ καταφρονουμένου τοῦ βασιλέως δεῖ μοχθηταὶ καὶ δυσγένειαν.—Plut. Vita Parallelæ, Lipsiæ, 1813, iii. 208.

Tὰ δὲ πέραν τοῦ Ἀράβωνος ποταμοῦ, εὐδαίμονά τε τὴν χώραν εἶναι ἔξηγγέλλετο, καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθοὺς μὲν γῆς ἐργάτας, γενναῖοις δὲ τὰ πολέμια, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἴδια δὲ σφῶν ἐν κόσμῳ πολιτεύοντας. Πρὸς γὰρ τῶν ἀρίστων ἄρχονται τοὺς πολλοὺς, τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχω τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἔξηγεισθαι.—Ariani Exped. Alexandri. Lib. iii. c. xxv.

named *Kand*.¹ This monarch is represented as ruling over a distant part of the country, the exact locality of which is not specified. He is stated, in opposition to classical testimony, to have borne the highest character for wisdom, virtue, and good administration; and the singular item is mentioned in reference to the length of his life [or reign], which, though distorted in the repetition, seems to identify him directly with the Hindu traditional "one hundred years" of the rule of the Nandas. The intercourse by ambassadors which ensues relates mainly to the question of magic and the four marvels of necromancy with the inexhaustible cup, which figures in so many fairy tales, possessed by the Indian king. The same stories of the two monarchs are embodied in the *Sháh Námah*, but by a transposition of the diacritical points the king's name appears as كَيْد instead of كَنْد.² Though the triliteral is little more than what M. Renan calls "a Semitic skeleton" of a word, it retains the three leading letters of the original कण्ड, and is readily improved by the insertion of the short vowels, while the missing *r* may easily have been lost sight of in the mechanical conversion of the Sanskrit letters; but there is no need to insist upon minor possibilities when the identical name has been reproduced elsewhere in a far closer though altogether independently-devised form of translitera-

¹ *Masâudi*, chap. xxvi.

لما قتل الاسكندر فور صاحب مدينة المانكير من ملوك الهند وانقادت اليه جميع ملوك الهند على حسب ما ذكرنا من حمل الاموال والخروج اليه بلغه ان فى اقصى ارض الهند ملكا من ملوكهم ذو حكمة وسياسة وديانة وانصاف للرعية وانه قد اتى عليه من عمره ميؤون من السنين وانه ليس بارض الهند من فلاسفتهم وحكمة انهم ممثله يقال له كَنْد

[One MS. No. 23,266 Mus. Brit. gives the name as كَيْد].

² *Sháh Námah*, Chap. (headed)

لشکر کشیدن سکندر سوی کید هندی و نامه نوشتن بدو
Also, Chap.

آوردن ده مرد دانا دخترو جام و پزشک و فیلسوف از کید هندی
نژد سکندر

tion. The author of the Persian text of the *Majmal-ul-Tawārīkh*, who dates from the court of Sanjar bin Malik Sháh, in A.H. 522, after acknowledging to have derived his information through the secondary medium of a Persian translation made in A.H. 417, from an Arabic author of earlier standing, who, however, drew his inspiration *direct* from Indian sources,³ goes on to quote similar tales of Alexander and the king he names as قنند, whom he specially indicates as 'the same' as the كيد of the Sháh Námah. Considering that a very slight turn of the pen would suffice to convert the second letter of this name from an ـ into an ـ, it will be scarcely taking much liberty with extant MSS. to restore the former letter to its proper place, and rehabilitate M. Reinaud's *Kefend* into قنند *Kananda*, a licence the text itself encourages, in reproducing the son's name as *Ayanda*, a very obvious mistake for آند *Ananda*. Not that I would desire to cite these Arab or Persian writers for the solid history or geography of India, when the latter are seen to make Porus king of Kanauj, and the former base most of their early notions of Indian kingdoms upon the limited centre they occupied on the lower Indus; but with all this, their incidental notices may chance to prove, under proper checks and criticism, of considerable value.

Among the various sources for the illustration of the subject under review, the Ceylon Annals, perhaps, exhibit the nearest and most exact adherence to pure legendary history the Indian mind was, at this period, capable of realizing: emanating, in regard to their facts, from the original site of Buddhism, whose religious verity constituted so cardinal a point in their record: embodying a series of incidents how-

³ *Majmal-al-Tawārīkh*.

اما کتابی دیدم از آن هندوان که ابو صالح بن شعیب بن جامع از زبان هندوانی بتازی ترجمه کرده بود و ابوالحسن علی بن محمد الحبلتی خازن دارالكتب جرجان در سنه سبع عشره واریعماهیه آنرا به پارسی کرده بود

ever imperfectly reported, and however long subject to the disadvantage of merely oral or partially written mechanism, still following very closely upon the events, and speedily becoming crystalized into the fixed form, which was preserved, in all its simplicity, under the protection of a dominant and undisturbed hierarchy, in an insular and comparatively unassailable kingdom. An immunity which clearly was not shared by the parallel chronicles of India proper, and for the historical portions of which we have to rely mainly upon Brahmanic authorities, whose compositions are not only so much later in point of time, but were liable to be affected by indifference to, if not a more directly hostile feeling against a race of kings under whose auspices antagonistic Buddhism attained so much local prominence.

The most important item the Ceylon Annals contribute towards Krananda's history consists in the statement that *the nine Nandas* reigned "conjointly."¹ The bearings of this question will have to be adverted to more at large hereafter; but to dispose of the independent home testimony upon this point, it will be sufficient to refer to the various analogous passages in the secular Sanskrit works and in the pseudo-

¹ Mahāwanso, p. 21: "Kālásōko had ten sons; these brothers (conjointly) ruled the empire, righteously, for twenty-two years. Subsequently there were nine; they also, according to their seniority, righteously reigned for twenty-two years. Thereafter the Brahman Chānakkō, in gratification of an implacable hatred borne towards the ninth surviving brother, called Dhana-nando, having put him to death," etc.

Mahāwanso, p. xxxviii. from the commentary (the *Tikā*): "Subsequent to Kālásōko, who patronized those who held the second convocation, the royal line is stated to have consisted of twelve monarchs to the reign of Dhammāsōko, when they (the priests) held the third convocation. Kālásōko's own sons were ten brothers. Their names are specified in the *Atthakathā*. The appellation of 'the nine Nandos' originates in nine of them bearing that patronymic title. The *Atthakathā* of the Uttarawihāro priests sets forth that the eldest of these was of an extraction (maternally) not allied (inferior) to the royal family, and that he dwelt in one of the provinces: it gives also the history of the other nine. In aforesome, during the conjoint administration of the (nine) sons of Kālásōko, xxix. : His brothers next succeeded to the empire in the order of their seniority. They altogether reigned twenty-two years. It was on this account that (in the Mahāwanso) it is stated that there were nine Nandos. Their ninth youngest brother was called Dhana-nando, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure. [He is subsequently stated to have] abandoned his passion for hoarding, becoming imbued with the desire of giving alms," etc.

Bhuddhaghosa's *Atthakathā* has "the ten sons of KĀLĀSĀKO reigned thirty-two years. Subsequently to them, NAWANANDO reigned twenty-two years. CHANDAGUTTO twenty-four years."—J. A. S. B. vi. 726; Mahāwanso, p. iii.

prophecies of the Puráṇas,¹ which if they do not directly confirm the existence of such a system of oligarchal government, fully justify the acceptance of the Singhalese version of a combined family sovereignty of some kind or other.²

The Greek authors, who follow Megasthenes, had already made known the existence of popular forms of government in India. Diodorus Siculus affirms that, in early times, the majority of the cities were administered by democracies, monarchies forming the exception up to the invasion of Alexander.³ Arrian discriminates the autonomous townships

¹ Vishṇu Puráṇa, p. 467: His son will also be Nandi-varddhana; and his son will be Mahánandi. These ten Śaiśunágas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years. The son of Mahánanda will be born of a woman of the Súdra or servile class; his name will be Nanda, called Mahápadma, for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Paraśuráma, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will be Súdras. He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella; he will have eight sons, Sumálya and others; who will reign after Mahápadma; and he and his sons will govern for one hundred years. The Brahman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas. Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth, for Kautilya will place Chandra Gupta on the throne.

[Professor Wilson adds the following additional notes:—]

“The Bhágavata calls [Nanda] Mahápadmapati, the lord of Mahápadma! which the commentator interprets ‘sovereign of an infinite host,’ or of ‘immense wealth;’ Mahápadma signifying 100,000 millions. The Váyu and Matsya, however, consider Mahápadma as another name of Nanda.”

The Bhágavata also “[has, ‘he and his sons’];” but it would be more compatible with chronology to consider the nine Nandas as so many descents. The Váyu and Matsya give eighty-eight years to Mahápadma and only the remaining twelve to Sumálya and the rest of the remaining eight, these twelve years being occupied with the efforts of Kautilya to expel the Nandas.”

The several authorities agree in the number of ten Śaiśunágas, and in the aggregate years of their reigns, which the Matsya and the Bhágavata call 360; the Váyu has 362. . . . The Váyu and Matsya call the Śaiśunágas Kshatrabandhus, which may designate an inferior order of Kshatriyas: they also observe, that cotemporary with the dynasties already specified, the Pauravas, the Várhadrathas and Mágadhas, there were other races of royal descent, as Aikshwákava princes, 24; Pánchálas, 25 . . . Kálakas or Kásakas or Kásayas, 24; Haihayas, 24; Kúlingas, 32. Sákas, Aṣmakas, Kuravas, Maithilas, Śúrasenas, and Vitihotrás.—See also Wilson’s Essays on Sanskrit Literature, i. 133.

² For further evidence of the co-ordination of the nine Nandas, see Wilson’s ‘*Mudrá Rákshasa*,’ Hindu Theatre, ii. pp. 144-5-6. PREFACE: “The king when he grew old retired from the affairs of state, consigning his kingdom to these nine sons,” etc. TEXT, verses 155-7, p. 181:

A subsequent passage incidentally proves that the idea of joint kings was by no means foreign to the practice of the day.

“Vairodhaka and Chandra Gupta, seated
On the same throne, installed as equal kings,
Divided Nanda’s empire.”

See also Asiatic Researches, v. 266.

³ Diod. Sic. ii. c 39, § 38: ὅστερον δὲ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τὰς πλείστας μὲν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατηθῆναι, τινῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν τὰς βασιλείας διαιμέναι μέχρι τῆς Αλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως.

of the Punjáb,¹ advertises to the rule of the nobility on the Ganges,² and contrasts, in marked detail, the difference between regal government and the functions of a chief magistrate of a free city.³ Quintus Curtius also speaks of “*validam Indiæ gentem, quæ populi, non regum imperio regebatur*” (ix. c. viii. § 4). The local annals, in like manner, incidentally contribute frequent evidences of the prevalent republican institutions; tradition has preserved various notices of the Republic of Vaiśálí (Bassahr), as it was administered in the time of Śákya; and the history of the distribution of his ashes casually discloses, that of the ten portions into which they were divided, eight fell to the share of republics or tribal cities, and one to a king.⁴ There are no data for determining the exact form of these constitutions, though they are seen to have been far beyond any mere intramural municipality. The city clearly dominated over the country around, and constituted to all intents and purposes a State. The number of citizens participating in administrative functions appears to have been considerable among the Lichhawis of Vaiśálí,⁵ but in all cases there were one or more chiefs, whether magistrates, tribunes,⁶ or rájas.⁷

In addition to the written testimony, as to the prevalence of republics to the northward and eastward of India, they seem to have been elsewhere complete enough in their political as well as fiscal details, to have left illustrative numismatic traces behind them, in the extant coins of the Sáh kings of Suráshtra, which in their make, extreme range of dates, and

¹ Exped. Alexandri. c. xxiv.

² Ibid. c. xxv., quoted p. 453 ante.

³ Arrian Indica. xii. 10: ἔκτοι δέ εἰσιν Ἰνδοῖσιν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καλεόμενοι οὗτοι ἐφορᾶσι τὰ γινόμενα κατά τε τὴν χώρην καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλεας. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀναγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἵναπερ βασιλεύονται Ἰνδοὶ ἢ τοῖς τέλεσιν, ἵναπερ αὐτόνομοι εἰσι. The passage varies in Strabo, xv. c. 1, § 40. But he elsewhere advert's to an aristocratical form of government, xv. c. 1, § 37. See also Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 20.

⁴ As. Res. xx. 439. Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vii. 1013. Bhilsa Topes, p. 29.

⁵ Mr. Turnour remarks in a note, p. 992, vol. vii. J. A. S. B.: “These rájas or rulers were of the Lichchhavi dynasty, the capital of whose dominions, called Wajji, was Wosáli. The union of the Wajjian states is stated to have consisted of a confederation of chiefs or princes.”

⁶ As. Res. xx. pp. 66, 69, 72; J. A. S. B. i. 4.

⁷ Foekoueki, 240, 251, note 8, Klaproth: “Il paraît que quoique les habitants de Vaiśálí eussent une forme de gouvernement républicaine, ils avaient pourtant aussi un roi.”

repeated identity of the annual records stamped on their surface, have for long past,¹ on mere mechanical grounds, suggested the inference of an emanation from mints under the temporary control of one or more rulers. The working of such an administrative government is not opposed to the recognition of a Greek or any other more immediate native suzerainty—which external supremacy need in no wise have impaired the normal elements of the original constitution, framed probably upon the same theoretical model as had served to raise up similar institutions on the banks of the Ganges. The supposition of a conjoint administration is almost demanded in this instance by the fact, that among the Sáh kings, no less than four, if not five, sons of Rudra Sáh and three sons of Dáma Sáh are found to have been endued with regal honours.

The sovereignty of the nine Nandas may be conjectured to have been based upon the same principle of coequal brotherhood or coparcenary, that prevails to this day so extensively in the North-Western Provinces under the general designation of *Bhaiyáchára* tenures. In these proprietary fraternities, perfect equality of inheritance constitutes the leading idea with the practical concession for the good of the community, that there should be one responsible manager, usually the elder brother, who is primarily entitled to this post, and whose seniority is invariably respected, though his administrative authority is frequently set aside for the benefit of the joint estate, and bestowed upon a more efficient junior.² The supposition of some combination of this sort seems to afford the most simple explanation the legends on the coins admit of; viz. that the name of Amogha, otherwise clearly superfluous, was retained as the first-born of the joint-brotherhood, and Krananda, in acknowledging this priority, and describing himself as “the brother of Amogha,” leaves him intentionally untitled, while he assumes to himself the proud position of *Mahárája*, or the executive

¹ Jour. R. A. S. (1848), vol. xii. pp. 39, 40, 41; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 92.

² See Sir H. M. Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, *sub voce* *Bhaiyáchára* and his Settlement Circular orders, N.W.P.

"primus inter pares" of the family oligarchy. Necessarily, the supreme ruler of vast kingdoms exercised much more extended and independent powers than would have devolved upon him under a similarly constituted election to the management of the affairs of an agricultural community ; but the theory and practice would be analogous in either case, though the possession of Imperialism would be less easily disturbed than the patriarchal intendance of the village system.

As the identification of the Greek Sandrokoptos with the Sanskrit Chandra Gupta proved of the highest importance in adjusting the general scheme of Indian dates, so the ascertainment of the sovereignty of Krananda on the Ganges, when Alexander retired from the Hyphasis in 326 b.c.,¹ in furnishing an earlier and far more precise date towards the reeification of the local annals than the undetermined epoch of the expedition of Seleucus and his treaty with Chandra Gupta² may be expected in a higher degree to illustrate and determine the many debateable points of contemporary Indian chronology. As a preliminary I may state that I adopt almost unconditionally the Ceylon traditional date of the Nirvâna of Sâkyâ Muni, *i.e.* 543 b.c., as the Singhalese were the only nation among the early converts who definitely accepted the era of Buddha for civil or religious reckonings, a practice so consistently adhered to that, to this day,³ the local almanacs appear with *Anno Domini* and *Anno Buddhae* in parallel columns. Objection has been taken to the probable exactitude of the initial date, because its use did not become general in the hierarchal calendars till after the reign of Asoka ;⁴ but even the very admission involved in the protest concedes a value and importance to the vehicle which preserved with all apparent good faith the historical epoch, whose inception must have been recently notified from the land where the incidents, out of which it arose, took place, and fully within the limits of reeification, had

¹ Clinton, p. 193, 8vo. edition, Oxford, 1851.

² Clinton Fast. Hellen, iii. 482, note. ³ Turnour J.A.S.B. vi., pp. 722.

⁴ Max Müller, Sanskrit Literature, p. 264.

any doubts of its accuracy presented themselves. It is not necessary to the correctness of this foreign legendary date of the Nirvâna, that the Ceylon local annals should accord in full parallelism, though such an attempt was made, in a crude way, in the endeavour to fix the advent of Vijaya at the identical cyclic epoch;¹ nor need we criticise too closely the subordinate chronological details, which reached the island regarding the Mâgadha succession: for all purposes of a test of intentional veracity, there remains enough of truth preserved in their text, and in some instances a nearer adherence to facts than the counterpart annals were permitted to retain on their own soil. The Southern date of 543 B.C. recommends itself indirectly in two cases of imperfect testimony obtained from purely Indian sources. The Tibetan Books, in citing the various dates assigned to Buddha, give the extreme range of from B.C. 546 to B.C. 2422.² Now as the tendency of all such commentators would naturally incline towards exaggerating the antiquity of the foundation of their creed, there would be much reason to prefer the lower figures, even if they did not assimilate so nearly to the independent affirmation of the basis of the era received in Ceylon. Again, there is a curious approximation to this same initial reckoning contributed centuries later by Hiuen Thsang, who in his description of Kusinagara in A.D. 648 adverts to the uncertainty existing *in situ* regarding the true epoch of Sâkyâ's decease, and he goes on to state the various computations then current, the very first of which being 1200 years prior to the existing date—the even number of centuries quoted dispenses with any pretence of exactitude—but singular to say the arithmetical result gives the approximate year of 552 B.C.³

¹ Turnour J.A.S.B. vi. (1837) pp. 718, 720, Mahâwanso, p. li.

² Osoma, Tibetan Grammar, p. 199. Professor Wilson also cites no less than thirteen different dates, collected by a Tibetan author, ranging from 2420 B.C. to 453 B.C., three figures which suggest in themselves an erroneous transposition of the copyist for 543. Wilson J.R.A.S. xvi. p. 247, and Dr. Rost's edition of Wilson's works, vol. ii. p. 345.

³ Suivant l'Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang, p. 304, le Ta-thang-si-yu-ki a été redigé en 648. D'après ce premier calcul, (1200 B.C.) l'époque du Nirvâna remonterait à l'an 552 avant J. C. La seconde opinion (1300 B.C.) le fait remonter à 652; la troisième opinion (1500 B.C.) à 852, et la quatrième (de neuf cents à mille ans) entre 252 et 352. La première date est celle qui rapproche le

There is also an item of negative evidence in support of this Buddhist date which is not without its significance. Bud-dhaghoso, the Mágadha Brahman, the eloquent and energetic convert to Buddhism, who in the earlier part of the fifth century A.D. made a pilgrimage to recover the Singhalese version of the *Aṭṭhakathá*, which was not extant in his native land,¹ not only did not contest or question the epoch of 543 B.C., but adopted it in all its integrity as the basis of his very elaborate attempts at the reconciliation of the conflicting dates in the national histories of the two countries;² though in the imperfection of the materials bearing upon the regal successions of India the adaptation proved considerably at fault.

There is yet another test, *ab extra*, of no very great value in itself, but the items contributing to which give a singularly near result to the Ceylon calendric standard. Few enquirers will be prepared to contest the simple proposition that Śākyā Muni flourished while Ajátaśatru sat on the throne of Magadha. The various Brahmanical *Puráṇas*, in enumerating the successions and lengths of reigns between the eighth year of that monarch and the accession of Chandra Gupta, give the closely associated totals of 260 and 261 years; now, taking the elevation of Chandra Gupta, the chosen criterion of European chronologists, at 316 B.C., the *Nirváṇa* of Buddha will fall, under this reckoning, in B.C. 576, giving a total of 33 years only in excess of the Singhalese era, a surplus that may fairly be subjected to critical reduction, when tested by the exaggerated average³ involved in the 33 years assigned to each of the five kings, comprising the second half of the Śaisunága dynasty, whose general average for the ten successions ranges even more suspiciously high at 36.5 per reign.

plus de celle des Cingalais (543), qui paraît généralement adoptée. Stan. Julion. ii. 335. General Cunningham, who has a tendency to averages, arrives by that unsatisfactory method of rectification at a still closer approximation to the Ceylon date, in the return of 544. Bhilsa Topes, p. 74.

¹ Turnour J.A.S.B. vi. (1837) pp. 507, 717. Maháwanso, p. xxx. and chapter xxxvii., p. 250. ² J.A.S.B. vi. 725. Maháwanso, p. lii.

³ Col. Tod's average of 119 kings gives a return of 22 years per reign (i. 52). Wathen (J.R.A.S. v. 346) with an average extending over 535 years produces 25 years, while the Walter Elliot inscriptions (J.R.A.S. iv. 5) reduce the term to 17.7 years. See Note J.R.A.S., xii. p. 36.

The Hon. George Turnour, to whom we are mainly indebted for our present knowledge of the question, investigated with much care the Singhalese chronology of the period intervening between the Nirvâna of Sâkyâ and the accession of Aśoka, the result arrived at being that if the former date fell in B.C. 543, the accession of Chandra Gupta must have been antedated in the southern system some 60 or 70 years. Mr. Turnour rightly divined that the cause of this error would probably be found in the undue limitations of the reigns of the Nandas, which will be seen from his table quoted below,¹ to have been reduced to 44 years in all. General Cunningham has suggested a very simple and reasonable method of correcting this deficiency by restoring to the Nandas collectively² the approximate 100 years the Sanskrit

¹ "The chronological data contained in the *Attakathâ* on the *Pitakuttara*, and in the *Mahâwanso*, connected with the history both of India and of Ceylon, exhibit, respectively, in a tabular form, the following results:—

INDIAN TABLE.

	Accession of each King, B. C.	B. B.	Reign Years.	
Bimbisâro	603	60	52	Sâkyâ attained Buddhahood in the 16th year of this reign.
Ajâtasattu	551	8	32	Sâkyâ died and the first convocation was held in the 8th year of this reign. The former event constitutes the Buddhistical epoch.
		A. D.		
Udâyibhaddako ..	519	24	16	
Anurâddhako ... }	503	40	8	Collectively.
Mundho				
Nâgadâsako	495	48	24	
Susunâgo	471	72	18	
Kâlásoko...	453	90	28	The second convocation held in the 10th of this reign.
Nandos	425	118	22	Collectively.
Nandos	403	140	22	Individually.
Chandagutto.....	381	162	34	
Bindusâro	347	196	28	
Asoko	319	224	37	This monarch's <i>inauguration</i> took place in A. D. 218, four years after his <i>accession</i> , which shows an anachronism in this table of ten years at his <i>accession</i> . The third convocation was held in the 17th year after his <i>inauguration</i> .

² Bhiṣa Topes, p. 75. Lassen also proposes to give an extra 66 years to the Nandas, but he spoils the whole rectificatory process by limiting the remainder to 22 years.

General Cunningham, expresses himself aggrieved by two statements in my last paper in this Journal (5th July, 1862, vol. xx. p. 99). I should not have alluded to so personal a subject in this place, had not General Cunningham

authors usually assign to them. This then is the rectification I should propose to apply, making the accession of Nanda Mahápadma in or about 425 b.c., and admitting an independent reign of 22 years more or less, which leaves nearly 78 years to be filled in by the joint rule of his nine sons. This with a possible interregnum, while Cháṇakya was accomplishing the Brahmanic revolution, will bring the ac-

imported a certain degree of asperity into his reclamations, and coupled them with an inuendo of a design on my part to elevate another at his expense.

The first item is easily disposed of: in my notice of Col. J. Abbott's coin of Epander (Note 2, p. 99) I associated it with the term of "a new king." As the name did not occur in any of the lists I was then in the act of quoting, the words merely amounted to a conventional expression, though indeed, as far as I was then aware, the coin itself was essentially unpublished, notwithstanding that its existence had been long known to Indian Numismatists (Col. Abbott himself, Col. Bush, etc.) before the coins themselves left Calcutta. I, individually, arrogated no merit in the bringing forward of this novelty, though I imagined it to be a unique specimen of a Bactrian sovereign previously unknown in Europe. However, it seems that Gen. Cunningham, had, in an obscure corner of the J. A. S. B. for 1860, devoted to miscellaneous notices—fairly and fully published, in India, the fact of his own possession of a similar piece. But in his attack upon me, he completely ignores the very qualifying incident, that my article was avowedly put forth as interrupted, and incomplete, and for the major part prepared two years previously, when I first had an opportunity of examining Col. Abbott's collection in November, 1859. Had I by hazard chanced to have seen General Cunningham's notice, other portions of it would have proved really valuable to me for the very enquiry I was then engaged upon, as furnishing an important illustration of the contemporaneous numismatic record of another Suzerain and Satrap, in the conjunction of the names of Antiochus and Agathoelos. The second charge against me is eccentric in the extreme: it purports, by implication, that I designedly gave credit to Babu Rajendra Lal, a fellow-labourer in our own field of research, for a discovery General Cunningham claims for himself (the exceptional words made use of are—"has enabled Mr. Thomas," etc.) My inoffensive note, out of which all this jealousy has arisen, has furnished the groundwork for a very pretty quarrel and literary combat in India, in which I have happily escaped taking part—but which seems to me to have been energetically and efficiently conducted, to what may be hoped to be the end, by the Babu himself (vol. xxxii. p. 439).

All I am called upon to explain is my wrongdoing, in publishing a passage so liable to misinterpretation, but truly, if it were worth while to revert back and examine the original note (vol. xx. p. 108, note 1,) it will at once be manifest that I was quoting from a single detached number of the J. A. S. B., without being aware of or at the moment capable of verifying, what had been published in previous numbers: hence, I was specially on my guard, and resorted to the general phase of "who *has been* identified with Hushka," instead of saying *by* Babu Rajendra Lal, a reserve demanded for the very sufficient reason, that the article from which I drew my knowledge was so incomplimentary in itself that I hardly knew whether the Mr. Bayley, cited elsewhere in the paper, was not the originator of the disputed identification. The entire difficulty, in either case—so far as I am concerned—arose from the too limited circulation in England of that excellent Journal of our fellow-society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal. A plea I shall individually be henceforth incompetent to avail myself of, as under the liberal arrangements now in force, as an honorary member I regularly receive their publications.

cession of Chandra Gupta to about B.C. 317-6, which would sufficiently accord with the statement of his being a *μειράκιον* at the time of Alexander's invasion.

Whatever questions of traditions and imperfectly recorded testimonies may have complicated the right determination of the successional dates, a much more speculative enquiry remains, as to what position in the march of alphabetical developments, when tried by parallel local inscriptions—the legends on the coins of Krañanda would limit the period of their issue. There need be no possible reserve in avowing that the Indian Páli alphabet on this currency is far in advance of the formal lapidary writing of the Edicts of Aśoka, which range from about B.C. 250 to 232. I have, therefore, to seek to explain why the more matured characters should claim to date nearly a century prior to the palæography of the monumental tablets. It has been usual to assume that because these latter proclamations were the earliest authenticated inscriptions extant, that therefore their letters represented the primitive form of alphabetical writing of the entire continent of India, and hence that these phonetic signs had constituted the fountain head from whence all progress or improvements were derived, in short, that these letters had furnished the model, and therefore were to supply the ultimate test of the age of all and every description of local characters.

In accordance with this idea, James Prinsep, in 1838, framed a Palæographic table,¹ which it was supposed would suffice to determine by the mere gradational forms of characters, the date of any given inscription of whatever locality. The theory was primarily based upon the imperfect knowledge then newly attained, that Aśoka's edicts were engraved in one and the same alphabet, so to say, all over India; and the inference deduced was that the character in question embodied the every day writing of the nation at large, and hence that any divarication from, or advance beyond, these fixed literal forms necessarily involved a subsequent effort

¹ J. A. S. B. vii. pls. xiii. xiv., and Prinsep's Essays, vol ii. pls. xxxviii. xxxix.

of more mature growth. This is an assumption I have long protested against;¹ while fully admitting the originality and merit of James Prinsep's conception, I have uniformly resisted its unconditional acceptance, because it was wanting in the essential allowances for local diversities of caligraphy, for the progressive stages connected with modes and materials of writing, and equally disregarded the limitations or expansions incident to the dialects and languages the characters were called upon to define.

It is by no means requisite to suppose, that the old Páli character of the edicts was essentially a *sacred* alphabet, but it clearly constituted *the* alphabet of the early centre of the Buddhist faith; and, as such, the primitive scriptures mechanically retained that form of writing, with which its teachers and missionaries were most conversant, and which preferentially must have accompanied the spread of the creed of which they were the oracles and exponents. If we are to give the most scanty credence to the indigenous legends reproduced in the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts;² there were in Sákya's youth already many dissimilar alphabets current in India. This statement would indirectly support the idea that Aśoka's edicts emanated from one Palace copy, tinctured possibly with the ideas, phrasology, dialect, and form of writing accepted at Court; but modified in these several details, in the spread and promulgation, as each of the independent schools already located in different parts of the country, felt concessions to be necessary to the vernacular speech or other local influences, by which they themselves had already become affected.

These lapidary records usually sculptured out of range of human vision, so far as facile legibility was implied, were seemingly intended to be published and proclaimed *viva voce* to the people, under the adventitious sanctity of proximity to the monuments on whose surfaces they were perpetuated,

¹ J. A. S. B. vol. xxiv (1855) p. 21. Prinsep's Essays, ii. p. 41, et seq.

² Csoma de Körös, As. Res. xx. 290. Among the rest are mentioned *Yavana* and *Hūṇa*, Lalita Vistara (Tibetan version) M. Foucaux, Paris, 1847, pp. 122, 123. Rajendra Lal Mitra (Sanskrit text) Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1853, p. 143 et seq. The Sanskrit version omits the *Yavana*.

while the text itself may, perchance, have been designed to be interpreted and explained¹ to the multitude somewhat after the manner of the old Hebrew ritual,² which laboured to convey so much of the essence of the Law to the vulgar at large.

If these Eastern monumental inscriptions were not within legible distance, they can scarcely have been engraved with the simple design of being intelligible to the masses, unaided by the gloss of the authorized expounder. At the same time there is no reason whatever to doubt that the alphabet itself represented the primæval scheme of writing invented in situ, and that it constituted the prototype of all the improved as well as degraded alphabets of the continent; as such, it would continue fully intelligible either to the dwellers in remote parts, or to the more highly instructed races, who were habituated to the use of advanced types of the same scheme of writing. And, as with the letters, so with the dialects, which must far more have needed illustration and explanation. It can scarcely be imagined that the vernacular speech at Dhauli and Ganjam was identical with, or even similar to, that at Girnár and Peshawur, at which last site, the larger concession was made of a transcript into a new character, and a more Sanskritic version, the letters of which were clearly of local usage, constituting the *Yavanāni lipi* of Pāṇini's Taxila experience; and which were so readily adopted by the Greeks, in parallel association with their own classic alphabet, on the sequence of Bactrian coins, whose early issues were nearly contemporaneous with the endorsement of Aśoka's Edicts.

The more immediate point to be determined, however, is whether the practical method of writing at the very focus of Brahmanic vigour, on the Jumna, in B.C. 325, was not far in

¹ *Prinsep*, J.A.S.B. vii, 444. "My desire is that in this very manner, these (ordinances) shall be pronounced aloud by the persons appointed to the stupa," pp. 445, 447. "This edict is to be read," etc. 452. *Burnouf*. "Lotus de la bonne loi," pp. 672-3, 680. "Sur ce Stûpa a été promulguée la règle morale Aussi est-ce là ce qui doit être proclamé par le gardien du Stûpa qui ne regardera rien autre chose (*on bien*, aussi cet édit a dû être exprimé au moyen du *Prâkrita* et non dans un autre idiome)."

² *Nchemiah* viii. 7, 8, 9-13.

advance of any coeval development of the undisturbed indigenous alphabet of Behár? To this question there can be but one answer. The fixity of the Mágadhlí, or Indian Páli character is proved centuries after this date, in the monumental records at Bhilsa.¹ The Mágadhlí, of whatever dialect, was satisfied, like the Hindi of modern days, with disjointed consonants, altogether ignoring vocalic elisions; but from the moment the local alphabet was called upon to satisfy the precision of Sanskrit grammar, it had, in that unexpected mission, to submit to the complication of compound consonants, and was therefore, in the very compromise, rendered liable to modifications and mutations of normal forms altogether uncontemplated in its own primary and admirably simple scheme.

The parallel action of the Sanskrit element on the concurrent alphabet of Semitic derivation, variously entitled the Arian, or Baetra-Páli, exemplifies as lucidly in the internal mechanism, the progressive changes from the fixed letters of the Kapurdigiri² inscription, and the unpretentious legends on the early Indo-Greek coins³ to the marked contrast exhibited in the advanced literal combinations of the Taxila Copper-plate,⁴ or the composite double-letters of the mint legends of the Indo-Seythians.⁵

If the demands of a higher linguistic structure were liable to affect the formation of letters, a more directly calligraphic query remains, as to what influence the concurrent Official system of writing exercised upon the local alphabet. The Semitic character which was seemingly learnt and acquired by the Aryans, on their passage through the dependencies of Ariana, would appear to have been associated and identified with their southern migration along the base of the Hima-laya, and to a certain extent to have been domesticated with

¹ Bhilsa Topes. In one hundred and ninety-six inscriptions, there occur only "three" examples of "compound letters," p. 268.

² J.R.A.S., Prof. H. H. Wilson's Rock Inscriptions, xii. 153.

³ Ariana Antiqua, 239 et seq. Prinsep's Essays, ii. 182 et seq. Numismatic Chronicle (1864), vol. iv. 196.

⁴ Professor Dowson's Article J.R.A.S., xx. p. 222.

⁵ J.R.A.S., xx. 238, etc.

them in their new home in Brahmávartha, and from thence to have extended downwards as far at Mathurá, below which all trace of it becomes lost.¹

It is clear that this graphic system to a great extent superseded the indigenous scheme of letters in the Punjáb, though for no very extended period, as it was speedily superseded and eclipsed by the more congruous character of Indian growth.² But, as the Bactrian or *Yavandáni lipi* is found by the evidence of its linear construction to have owed much to the southern theory of classification and definition of letters, in its own advance from the sixteen figures of the Phœnicio-Babylonian, and its further progress towards the full alphabet which Aryan languages demanded from the altogether inadequate normal Semitic elements; so, in the very coins under review, can be traced the effect of one system of writing upon the other—the action and reaction of concurrent palæo-

¹ I recapitulate the leading inscriptions in this alphabet:—1. Hidda (No. 13), near Jallálábád, in Afghánistán. An earthen jar, having an Arian inscription, written in *ink*, and dated in the year 8. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 111, and plate, p. 262. 2. A steatite vase from Bimarán (Jallálábád), with a legend *scratched* on its surface, undated. *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 52, 70, pl. ii, fig. 1; Prinsep's Essays, i. 107, pl. vi. 3. The Wardak (30 miles W. of Kabul) Brass Vase, now in the Indian Museum, inscribed with dotted letters, dated in the year 51, and recording the name of Hushka, the OOHPKI of the coins; see *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 118; Prinsep, i. 104, pl. x.; *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, No. iv. of 1861; *Jour. Royal As. Soc.*, xx. 37. 4. The Taxila Plate, dated 78, bears the name of Moga, identified with the Mea of the coins; *Num. Chron.*, vol. xix. Bactrian List, No. xxv. 5. Manikyala Stone Slab (now in the Bibliothèque Impériale, Paris), dated in the year 18, contains the designation of Kanishka; Prinsep's Essays, i. pl. ix.; *Journ. Royal As. Soc.*, xx. 251. From the same site was obtained the Brass Cylinder now in the British Museum; Prinsep, pl. vi. To these may be added two inscriptions from the Yusafzi country, one dated 60; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Bengal, 1854, p. 705; Prinsep, i. pl. ix.; and the bi-literal inscription at Kangra (Arian and Indo-Páli), Prinsep, i. 159, pl. ix., as well as the Mathura *Inscription* in Indian Páli letters, but dated in Bactrian figures, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1861, p. 427; and *Coins*, Prinsep's Essays, ii. 197.

² A collateral branch of this enquiry suggests itself in the course and survival of the Greek alphabet in India, which followed the conquering progress of the Bactrian Hellenes, as the affiliated alphabet of Semitic origin attended the domestication of the Aryan races. The accessory incidents differed, however, in this respect, that the classic language was naturally less completely domiciled, and was retained more exclusively by the ruling classes, though its literal system was preserved in a degraded form, possibly even beyond the duration of the currency of the Arian character. Its geographical extension may be defined as nearly parallel to that of the Arian writing towards the Gangetic provinces, while it penetrated in a comparatively independent identity to the Western coast. It is singular that there is no trace of any solitary inscription in the Greek language in all India, but in its numismatic form it remained the leading vehicle of official record, with a subsidiary vernacular translation, during more than two centuries under Greek and Scythian

graphies. I need not press the important point of the difference between the stiff forms of lapidary epigraphy, as opposed to the pen and ink writing of every day life; nor need I further advert to any of the minor arguments supporting the theory I advocate, as with the above and other good and valid reasons the case might be admitted as proven; but that I desire to answer, by anticipation, objections which may chance to be taken by those who still consent servilely to follow Prinsep's original suggestion—a bright thought, which I, among the most devoted of his admirers, regret he was not spared to improve and mature.

The deduction which archaeological data thus indicate, is

auspices. It was similarly employed in conjunction with Arian legends by the Kadphises Indo-Seythians (*Ariana Antiqua*, pl. x. figs. 5, *et seq.*), while the Kanerki Horde used it exclusively in the definition of their barbarous titles. (*Ariana Antiqua*, pls. xii. xiii. and xiv.) The gold coins of the latter merge into those of the Guptas, but the degraded Greek gives place to a cultivated type of Indian Páli letters (Prinsep's Essays, i. 227, &c.); while the Gupta silver money, based upon the standard of the Western currencies of the Sáh Kings, retains, in scarcely legible outlines, the titular PAO NANO PAO, of Kanerki origination (J. R. A. S. xii. p. 11). At a period much antecedent to the spread of the Guptas, which is variously assigned to the second, third, or even fourth centuries (Lassen, Ind. Alt., p. ii. 752, etc.; Prinsep's Essays, i. 276) A.D., a very imperfect form of Greek had found its way into Guzerát, where it figures on the obverse of the coins of these Sáh kings of Surashtra, in association with an elegant and highly-finished Sanskrit legend on the reverse. The nearest approach to sense, any of these debased imitations of Greek admit of, is furnished by a coin of Rudra Sáh, the son of Jiwa Dama (J. R. A. S. xii. 52; Ibid., ii. 88; Lassen, Ind. Alt. ii. 791), where something like the name of Dionysius (AIOATHICTI, *sic.*) may be seen.—*Num. Chron.*, vol. iii., N. S., p. 233.

Since the preceding sheet has been set up in type, I have seen Mr. Newton's paper on the Sáh Kings (Bombay Br. R. A. S., 10 Sept., 1863). The ample materials supplied to the author by native friends on the spot have enabled him to add three new names to the list of fifteen previously known. As Mr. Newton comments on my article in this Journal (vol. xii. 1848), I may have occasion to review the whole question hereafter; but I may mention that Mr. Newton makes the complete series of the eighteen kings date from 102 to 294, or 192 years in all, which he assigns to the era of Vikramáditya, thus fixing the epoch of the dynasty at from "A.D. 30 or 40 to A.D. 240, 250." In my last examination of this subject (*Journal Asiatique*, October, 1863) I came to the conclusion that the limited numbers I had observed on the coins ranged from 187 to 290, which numbers, tested by the Seleucidan era to which I gave, and continue to give, the preference, corresponded with n.c. 125 to n.c. 22. In still adhering to this cycle, I must explain, that I reject all Mr. Newton's dates between 102 and 170, as I distrust the reading of the early numbers and observe that the author continues to interpret ষ as 7 instead of the established 70. On the other hand, I am quite prepared to accept the improved reading of *Varsha prathame*, "in the first year," on the coins of *Íśvara datta*; but I interpret the record to mean, "the first year" of his election by Republican suffrage to an office of determinate tenure—and not to the first year of absolute sovereignty, a distinction the modesty of his titles would alone imply, if the absence of a patronymic does not also justify the inference that he was one of the earliest representatives thus elevated.

confirmed and illustrated, in the most apposite manner, both by the testimony of early tradition and mediæval evidence. Hiuen Thsang, in A.D. 648, speaking of the legends preserved in the land regarding the origin and spread of Pali writing, expresses himself as follows:—Les caractères de l'écriture ont été inventés par le dieu *Fan*, et, depuis l'origine, leur forme s'est transmise de siècle en siècle. Elle se compose de quarante-sept signes, qui s'assemblent et se combinent suivant l'objet ou la chose qu'on veut exprimer. Elle s'est répandue et s'est divisée en diverses branches. Sa source, s'étant élargie par degrés, elle s'est accommodée aux usages des pays et aux besoins des hommes, et n'a éprouvé que de légères modifications. En général, elle ne s'est pas sensiblement écartée de son origine. C'est surtout dans l'Inde centrale qu'elle est nette et correcte.”—*Hiouen-Thsang*, Mémoires, etc., vol. i. p. 72, (Paris 1857).

Al Bîrûnî, residing in A.D. 1031 among the people whose customs he was describing, gives a full list of the varieties of writing then current, and particularly specifies, at the head of the list, the form in use from Kashmîr to Benârès, at that time the joint representatives of the learning of the country.”¹

¹ I annex M. Reinaud's translation of the passage in question. As we have no MS. of Al Birûnî's *Târikh-i-Hind* in England, whereby to check or improve the French version, I allow it to stand without comment:—“On compte plusieurs écritures dans l'Inde. La plus répandue est celle qui porte le nom de *siddha-matracâ* (سید ماترک) ou substance parfaite; elle est usitée dans le Cachemire et à Benârès, qui sont maintenant les deux principaux foyers scientifiques du pays. On se sert également de cette écriture dans le Madhya-Deça, appelé aussi du nom d' *Aryavartta*. Dans le Malva, on fait usage d'une écriture appelée *nagara* (نگارا): celle-ci est disposée de la même manière que la première; mais les formes en sont différentes. Une troisième écriture, nommée *arddha-nagary* (ارڈ ناگری), c'est-à-dire à moitié *nagari*, et qui participe des deux premières, est usitée dans le Bhatia (بھاتیہ) et dans une partie du Sind. Parmi les autres écritures, on peut citer le malefâry (ملقاری), usité dans Maleaschewa (ملقشوا), au midi du Sind, près de la côte; le besandiba (بسندب), employé à Bahmanava, ville appelée aussi Mansoura; le karnâta (کرنات), usité dans le Karnate, pays qui donne naissance aux personnes appelées, dans les armées, du nom de Kannara (کنڑا); l'andri, employé dans l'Andra-Deça ou pays d'Andra (انتردیش); le dravidi, usité dans le Dravida ou Dravira; le lari, dans le Lar-Deça ou pays de Lar; le gaura (گوری), dans le Purab-Deça (بورب دیش) ou région orientale (le Bengale); et le bikchaka (بیکشک) dans le Oudan-

The purely geographical question of sites of discovery of coins is altogether beyond the range of any speculative theories; but it is singular that the centre around which the limited number of more observant collectors would, under that test,¹ circumscribe the extreme radius of the currency of Krananda's money—results in pronouncing the chief seat of issue to have been in or very near to the sacred cradle of Brahmanism, “between the two divine rivers.”²

Sir Proby T. Cautley first brought these coins prominently into notice, on their casual discovery during his excavation of the submerged city of Behat on the Jumna, where, seventeen feet below the modern surface of the sub-Himalayan detritus, in sinking wells for the foundations of the works of the Doáb canal, he came upon the undisturbed deposits of the past, whose period of inhumation was geologically supposed to be told by the number of feet of sand, etc., which natural causes had added to the previous level of the country.³

There is a seeming inconsistency in admitting any notion

Pourahâna (پورہنا). La dernière écriture est celle dont se servent les bouddhistes (الب).⁴ M. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l' Inde, p. 298; MS. No. 584, Folio, 39 verso.

¹ General Cunningham, one of our earliest and most persevering coin collectors, speaks of this money “as both of silver and copper, found chiefly between the Indus and the Jumna” (Bhilsa Topes, p. 334). Mr. E. C. Bayley, another very devoted numismatist, concurs with me in placing their *nidus* further to the eastward (Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 204). The Stacy collection produced only 23 specimens of the class, out of a total of between six and seven thousand coins brought together, during many years of patient labour and personal search, over a large range of country (J.A.S.B. xxvii. p. 255), while the immense accumulations of Masson in Afghánistan, did not contribute a single example (Ariana Antiqua, p. 415). A number of Krananda's coins are engraved in pl. xxxii. vol. vii. (1838), J.A.S. Bengal (p. 1051), but their places of discovery are not noted.

² Manu ii. 17. “The tract, fashioned by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers, Sarasvatî and Drîshadvatî, is called Brahmarâvartta. The usage relating to castes and mixed castes, which has been traditionally received in that country, is called the pure usage. The country of Kurukshtera (in the region of modern Delhi), and of the Matsyas (on the Jumna), Panchâdas (in the vicinity of modern Kanauj), and Sûrasenâs (in the district of Mathurâ), which adjoins Brahmarâvartta, is the land of Brahmarshis (divine Rishis).” “The tract situated between the Himavat and the Vindhya ranges to the east of Vinâshana and to the west of Prayâga, is known as the Madhyadeśa (central region). The wise know as Aryâvartta, the country which lies between the same two ranges, and extends from the eastern to the western ocean.”—Muir, Sanskrit Texts, ii. 147. For the comparative geography of this tract, see J. A. S. Bengal, ii. 106-7; Major Colvin, vii. 752; Mr. M. P. Edgeworth, ix. 688; Lt. Baker, xiii. 297; Major Mackeson; and Elliot's Glossary of Indian Terms, article Bhutîâna, p. 78.

³ J.A.S.B. iii. 222. Prinsep's Essays, i. p. 76.

of so northern a seat for Krañanda's metropolis, when he is confessed to have been monarch of all the Gangetic Valley, holding a capital at Palibothra; but the numismatic records probably concentrated themselves near the site of their original issue, and the more frequent discovery of these coins higher up the Indian Mesopotamia, would only prove that material and commercial wealth had the advantage in this part of the king's dominions over the provinces more towards the Delta.

In my own individual experience, *no* ancient coins, in the general sense, are found below Allahabád. Benáres occasionally contributes a transported specimen, but the limits of search, approved by my own Native coin collectors starting from *our* head quarters, at Suhárupore or Dehlí, gradually ceased to extend below Mathurá. On the other hand, we know how singularly the surviving representatives¹ of the earlier Greek currencies localized themselves in Behgrám, and how prolific the soil of the Punjáb still continues to be in the numismatic remains of the more settled Indo-Bactrian and Indo-Seythie kings.

These archæological facts, whatever their first aspect might indicate, by no means show that Krañanda was not king of Magadha, but they certainly prove that whatever of social culture and civilization may be held to be associated with a full and complete system of monetary exchanges pertained to a limited area of comparatively unprolific soil, bordering on a desert on the one hand, and shut in by the Himalayas on the other; while the richer country of the lower Ganges, for whatever reason, remained unsupplied with a commensurate metallic circulation. And it is a point worthy of remark, that the tract which the Vedic Aryans chose as their new home should, through so many ages, and under so many disadvantages, have retained its pre-eminence till ocean navigation and English commerce gradually elevated Calcutta to the inheritance of the Imperialism of Moghul Dehli.

It is more difficult to prove directly from existing numis-

¹ Masson, J.A.S.B., iii. 153. Prinsep's Essays, i. 81.

matic data the amplitude of the currencies of Krananda; but any deficiency in this respect might be accounted for by the facts just cited, that the people of the more southern portions of his dominions either did not largely employ coined money, or that they were content to use it in the old form of specific weights of crudely-fashioned metal, even as the populations of the peninsula adhered to a like custom for so many ages after the higher class of mintages had secured a permanent footing in the northern and eastern sections of Hindustán. One of the nine Nandas is stated by the Maháwanso to have been designated *Dhana Nanda*, or the rich Nanda; though the adjective is interpreted by the Ceylon translator in the optional, but not necessarily correct, sense of "avaricious." Wilford, also, citing the Sanskrit authorities, gives us an imposing account of Nanda's wealth,¹ which, though greatly exaggerated and probably only in the lesser degree consisting of absolute coin, must have been very complete in the technic details of the Mint issues and abundant in quantity, before the Brahman Cháipakya could have turned it to his purpose, in debasing the king's money, by forging new dies and reissuing metal reduced to one-eighth of the true standard—in order to contribute towards the funds needful to secure the ruin of the Nandas and the final elevation of Chandra Gupta.² It may be sufficient to remark in this place, that the extant coinage of Krananda is seemingly sufficient to justify the inference of his great wealth and extended dominions.³ The

¹ Wilford (As. Res. v. 242) quotes a Pauránik account of Nanda's treasures, which are fabulously rated at "1,584,000,000 pounds sterling in gold coin alone; the value of the silver and copper coin, and jewels, exceeded all calculation; and his army consisted of 100,000,000 men."

² "Opening the door (of Nanda's palace) with the utmost secrecy, and escaping with the prince out of that passage, they fled to the wilderness of Winjjhá. While dwelling there, with the view of raising resources, he converted (by re-coining) each kahápanan into eight, and amassed eighty kótiis of kahápaná. Having buried this treasure, he commenced to search for a second individual entitled (by birth) to be raised to sovereign power, and met with the aforesaid prince of the Móriyan dynasty, called Chandragutto."—Maháwanso xl.

³ It is a curious fact, in connection with this enquiry, that no single coin of Chandra Gupta, Vindusára, or Asoka, has as yet been discovered; it is possible that the ample issues of Krananda sufficed for the wants of the provinces, for which they were originally designed, during the succeeding three reigns, while the limited demand for coined money continued in the south; and in Asoka's time Greek currencies came opportunely to supply all northern demands.

minor arrangement and distribution of the subdivisional copper pieces would alone imply a largely diffused and comprehensive scheme of Mint administration, and its adaptation to the circumstances of the community is singularly exemplified in the incident that the copper currency appeals, in its isolated Indian Páli legend, to the limited intelligence of the *indigènes*, while the duplicate legend of the governing classes, in Semitic characters, is reserved for the more imposing silver money.¹

I have still to describe the coins themselves, to explain the legends on their surfaces, and to seek to trace the origin and purport of the numerous symbols they have preserved for modern investigation.



SILVER.—Weight 29·0 grains. BRITISH MUSEUM (from the collection of James Prinsep).

Obverse.—The central figure represents the conventional form of the sacred deer of the Buddhists. (1) The horns are fancifully curved, and the tail is imitated from that of the Himalayan *Yák*; an appendage which, in its material use and pictorial embodiment, was so early accepted as a distinctive type of royalty. In attendance on this symbolic animal is a lightly-draped female (2), who holds aloft a lotus (3). The monogram 古 (4) completes the emblems on the field, but the lotus is repeated at the commencement of the legend.²

Legend, in Indian Páli, transcribed into modern Sanskrit characters:—

राज्ञः क्रण्दस अमोघ भ्रतस महरजस

Rajnah Kraṇudasa Amogha Bhratasa, Maharajasa.

¹ In Akbar's reign, gold was coined in four cities only, silver in fourteen, and copper in no less than forty-two.—*Kyin-i-Akbari*, i. 36.

² On some coins the lotus is inserted in the field below the body of the stag (J. A. S. B. vii. plate xxxii. fig. 4). On other specimens the letter Δ = V [Vihdra?] occupies the vacant space.

(Coin) of the great king, the king Krapanda, the brother of Amogha.

Reverse.—The central device consists of a *stūpa* (5) surmounted by a small chhatra (6), above which appears a favorite Buddhist symbol (7). At the foot is a serpent (8). In the field are the Bodhi tree (9), the Swastika cross (10), and an emblem peculiar to the Buddhists (11).

Legend, in Bactrian Páli:—

ର୍ଯ୍ୟରୁତକ୍ରାମ୍ଭରତୀର୍ଷାର୍ଥ

Rajha Krapandasa Amogha-bhratisa, Maharajasa.

The monarch's name on this series of coins has hitherto, by common consent, been transcribed as *Kunanda*,¹ and tested by the more strict laws of its own system of Palaeography, the initial compound, in Indian Páli, would preferentially represent the letters *ku*. There can be little doubt about the true normal form of the short *u* (୬), which can be traced downwards in its consistent modifications in most of the Western Inscriptions, though the progressive Gangetic mutations completely reversed the lower stroke of their *u* (୭). The question of the correct reading of the designation has, however, been definitively set at rest by the Bactrian counterpart legends on the better preserved specimens of the coinage, where the initial combination figures as ର୍ଯ୍ୟ *kr*; a transliteration, which any more close and critical examination of the rest of the Indian Páli legend would, of itself, have suggested, in the parallel use of the same subjunct ର୍ଯ୍ୟ in ଭରତ *bhrata*.² It would seem, therefore, that the local alphabet borrowed this mechanical application from its exotic associate, an incorporation almost intuitive, considering that the pure Páli writings had no possible need of or occasion for such a conjunction; but, on the other hand,

¹ Professor Goldstücker suggests that the *kra*, in combination with *Nanda*, may possibly stand for କ୍ରୀ *kri*, “a million,” or some vague number corresponding with *Maha padma* (100,000 millions), under the supposition that the latter designation was applied to one of the Nanda family, in its numerical sense, as a fabulous total, and not in the more usually received meaning of “a large lotus.” However, as I do not suppose that Krapanda and Nanda Mahápadma were one and the same person, I need not press the similitude.

² Prinsep's Essays, ii. 158, 162.

the larger amount of Sanskrit carried by the Semitic alphabet had very early secured within its Eastern adaptive reconstruction a phonetic equivalent of the much required suffixed *r*.

As the *u* in its modern course, in India, changed its original configuration, the attached *r*, as far as monumental records suffice to prove, followed an equally eccentric caligraphic tendency in reversing this earliest borrowed model, an arrangement which has survived from the date of the inscriptions and coins of the Sáh kings on the Western coast and those of the sequent Guptas in Northern India to the current Sanskrit **ऋ** and the Bengali **ঃ**.

Another result of mutual influences is strikingly exemplified in a second instance of appropriation in these legends, where the Bactrian alphabet, to supply its own deficiencies, adopts the Indian Páli $\mu = jh$, to do duty for the more complete compound ε_h , *jn* of the sister Palaeography;¹ as the Bactrian writing did not so easily admit of conjunctions of consonants it contented itself with the aspirate already in local use.

The simple letters of the Páli exergues of these mintages vary in the form of one and the same alphabetic symbol to an extent altogether incompatible with any possible hypothesis of mere epochal Palaeographic advance. Here, on a concurrent series of coins—confined in point of time to the issue of a single reign, or tested by the localities of discovery closely limited in geographical range—are to be found letters of identical phonetic power, whose expression, on the various specimens of the general circulation, departs from any given model to a degree it would have required many centuries to have produced in more isolated provincial alphabets; while, on the other part, Asoka's Rock and Pillar Inscriptions, however much they may have been modified in dialect or phraseology, follow one uniform law of literal formation, so to say, over all India.² As has

¹ Asoka's Páli Inscriptions vary the form as *Rdja*, *Rañā*, *Ldja*; while the Bactrian Transcript gives *Rañā* and *Ruya*, as in the Taxila Plates. J. R. A. S. xii. 153; xx. 222.

² The Girnar Inscription has a far greater number of compound consonants than the more eastern texts, but the simple letters out of which these combinations are formed follow the usual configuration. It is curious to trace in these normal lapidary epigraphs the crude methods adopted for effecting the conjunction of consonants, and the disregard shown for the position of the *leading* letter of the

been already shown, there were sufficient reasons for this individualization, without at all trenching upon the independent progress of other modes of writing of anterior development. The present suite of coins fully demonstrates the action of the Semitic system upon the local character of Northern Hindustán; if the former, as there is valid ground to suppose, was already extensively domesticated in India prior to Páṇini's time and *before* the advent of Sákyá Muni, a very large margin, reckoning by centuries, may be conceded for the first date of its reception and gradual incorporation into the literature and grammar of the land, while the comparatively unpenetrated South contented itself with the old form of speech and its own corresponding ample means of expression.

To revert, however, to the Páli letters. The **ဋ** in Raja is sometimes shaped like the lapidary **I** and in other instances follows the Western type **J**. The **ජ**, in the same word, is represented on one specimen as **E** on another as **z**. The *anusvara* of the **ඩ** is occasionally, as in modern writing, placed above the **I** in other cases it is inserted between the forward lines of the leading consonants. The bodies of the **ඥ**'s vary from the square **U** to the rounded **U** and even to the pointed form **ං**. The **ආ**'s and **ඇ**'s differ perceptibly in their respective outlines, and scarcely any two numismatic specimens give the figure of the **ආ** alike.

Of the ten or twelve separate devices which cover the conjoined surfaces of Krananda's coins, no single one can be denied significance among the received exoteric symbolization of the imperfect Buddhism of 325 B.C. Many of these signs were undoubtedly adopted, in later times, as distinctive emblems of particular schisms from the early creed; but the collection and association of so many crude types on the royal money can scarcely be supposed to refer to any temporising conciliation of sectarian severances at a period when Buddhism was in its first stage of development from the home worship to

compound, which was at times placed *below* the sequent character, and at times in its now universally recognised place, *above* the following letter. As, for instance, in *Bdmhāna ඩ*, (Tablet viii. 3), *Magavyd ඩ* (viii. 2), *Dhauli ඩ ඩ*

which it was so largely indebted.¹ It will be more rational to accept the entire series of symbols, so elaborately combined, as the prototypes of local thought and superstitious idealism, and to concede to religions, as to letters, a necessary growth and a progress more or less speedy as competition or stagnation might chance to dictate. Under this test I will pass in casual review the several items which contribute to the seemingly anomalous conjunction, reserving the more detailed illustration for the extracts embodied in the foot-notes.

(1). The central and most prominent object on the obverse consists of a deer, an animal which may not have been directly worshipped in India, but which, in very remote ages, had clearly been invested with some secondary sanctity ; the Deer Park of the Immortal,² the sectarian symbol of a leading division of the creed,³ and the authoritative device for the seals of the priesthood,⁴ each in their degree establish the existence of a primitive reverence for this consecutively recurring type.

(2). The female attendant in front of the stag, whether in-

¹ The association of these symbols with a somewhat advanced phase of Buddhism is shown in the retention of the deer, the Bodhi-tree, the Stúpa, and the serpent, which is placed perpendicularly on some specimens, on the reverse of a coin, the obverse of which displays the standing figure of Buddha himself, having the lotus and the word *Bhágavata*, his special designation, in the marginal legend.—Prinsep's Essays, i. pl. vii. fig. 4; J. A. S. Bengal, iii. pl. xxv. fig. 4.

² *Foe koe ki*, cap. xxxiv. *Hsiouen Tsang*, i. p. 354. J. A. S. B. vol. xxxii. p. xvii.

³ Csoma Körösi remarks :—The different systems of Buddhism derived from India, and known now to the Tibetans, are the following four :—1. *Vaibháshika*.

2. *Sautrántika*. 3. *Yogáchárya*. 4. *Madhyamika*.

The first consists of four principal classes with its subdivisions. They originated with Shákya's four disciples, who are called in Sanskrit, Ráhula, Káshyapa, Upáli, and Kátyáyana. 1. Ráhula, the son of Shákya. His followers were divided into four sects. . . . The distinctive mark of this class was an *utpala padma* (water-lily) jewel, and treo-leaf put together in the form of a nosegay. 2. Káshyapa, of the brahman caste. His followers were divided into six sects. They were called the "great community." . . . They carried a shell or conch as a distinctive mark of their school. 3. Upáli, of the *Sídra* tribe. His followers were divided into three sects. . . . They carried a *sorsíka* flower [No. 10 of the Jaina list *infrá*?] as a mark of their school. They were styled "the class which is honoured by many." 4. Kátyáyana, of the Vaisya tribe. His followers were divided into three sects. . . . They had on their garb the figure of a wheel, as the distinctive mark of their school. They were styled "the class that have a fixed habitation."—J. A. S. B. vii. (1838) p. 143.

⁴ J. A. S. B. v. (1835) p. 625. As. Res. xx. 86. "A man of the religious order must have on his seal or stamp a circle with two deer on opposite sides, and below the name of the founder of the Vihára. A layman may have either a full length human figure or a head cut on his signet."—Dulva.

tended to represent priestess, *Bhikshuni*, or more probably the professional performer attached to the ceremonial of national worship, is outlined somewhat conventionally after the chosen model of India's daughters.

“There in the fane, a beauteous creature stands,
The first best work of the Creator's hands ;
Whose slender limbs inadequately bear
A full-orbed bosom,” etc. *Megha-dûta*, v. 547.¹

The figure in question, though otherwise subordinate among the leading symbols, is of importance in the history of the coins themselves—in furnishing the crowning demonstration of their independent art treatment. There is no semblance in this engraving of any Greek teaching, and no possible trace of secondary copying or crude imitation of classic designs. The local artist is declared, in all his originality, in the ideal composition and mechanical rendering of the form, even to the massive anklets, which to European eyes so disfigure the general outline.

(3.) Like other favoured localities, where self-growth presented so marked a form of floral perfection as the lotus, India's children early learnt to associate with the adoration of nature itself one of its most attractive earthly types. Hence “the flower of the waters” continued here, as elsewhere, to emblemize the still received device of many more advanced and intellectual systems of belief. As such, it is found as a standard adjunct in most of the external combinations either of Buddhists or Brahmans, more peculiarly belonging to the former in the first instance, and more directly identified with the Southern spread of their religion, it entered largely into the details of the imagery of the originally imported but speedily localized faith grounded upon Vedic rituals. Hence the symbolic flower is possibly repeated on these coins, as a mere sequence of a preconceived ideal,² while

¹ Lieut. Massey, in his admirable drawing of the *Nâchni* (pl. xiv. Bhilsa Topes), has vividly reproduced the *beau idéal* of the Buddhist sculptor, from the Sanchi gateway. The general design of the figure is in singular accord with the tenor of the poet's description. My own artist's drawing has suffered sadly from imperfect engraving.

² Ante, note, p. 476. J. A. S. B. i. 2. Dulva, 426, “Padma-chempo.” As. Res. xx. 300, “A white lotus or the true religion.” See also p. 544, and Transactions, R. A. S. iii. 107.

Jainas¹ and Brahmans² in later times equally claimed the emblem in its religious sense as their own.

(4.) ✚ General Cunningham supposes that this is a symbol of the Sun,³ he does not, however, mention his authority for the attribution ; I should prefer to look upon the figure as a more primitive definition of the Sacred Tree, which was subjected to so many changes of artistic representation. If we may infer that the religion had, at this period, attained so much of progressive development, as to recognise *other* Buddhas antecedent to Sákyá Muni ; this severe outline may chance to typify the traditional symbol of a predecessor ; while Sákyá's own emblem may be intentionally contrasted in the flourishing branches of the larger and more ornamental fig-tree on the reverse.

(5.) The most prominent device on the reverse consists of the conventional outline of the sepulchral tumulus, named in the Pali *Tupha*⁴ तुप (Sanskrit, *Stúpa*), from the root तप्, to burn,⁵ which in its secondary and derivative sense, came to

¹ Symbols of the deified saints or *arhats* of the Jainas :—1, a Bull ; 2, an Elephant ; 3, a Horse ; 4, an Ape ; 5, a Curlew ; 6, a Lotus ; 7, a *Swastika* ; 8, the Moon ; 9, Makara (a marine monster) ; 10, a *Srivatsa* (a four-petalled flower) ; 11, a Rhinoceros ; 12, a Buffaloe ; 13, a Boar ; 14, a Falcon ; 15, a Thunderbolt ; 16, an Antelope ; 17, a Goat ; 18, *Nandavarta* (an arabesque device formed by a continuous prolongation and parallel repetition of the lines of the original *Swastika*) : 19, a Jar ; 20, a Tortoise ; 22, a Conch ; 23, a Serpent ; 24, a Lion.—Colebrooke, As. Res. ix. 304.

² The gems of Kuvera, the Indian Plutus, are thus described by Wilson :—“The Padma, Mahápadma, Śankha, Makara, Kachhapa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nila, and Kharva, are the nine *Nidhis*.” . . . Some of the words bear the meanings of precious or holy things ; thus, Padma is the lotus, Śankha the shell or conch. Again, some of them imply large numbers ; thus Padma is 10,000 millions, and Mahápadma is 100,000 millions, etc. ; but all of them are not received in either the one or the other acceptation. We may translate almost all into things ; thus, a lotus, a large lotus, a shell, a certain fish, a tortoise, a crest, a mathematical figure used by the Jainas (*Nandavarta*, No. 18 of Jaina list). Nila refers only to colour ; but Kharva, the ninth, means a dwarf. . . . Agreeably to the system of the Tántrikas, the *Nidhis* are personified, and upon certain occasions, as the worship of Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity, etc., come in for a share of religious veneration. They have also their peculiar mantras or mystical verses. *Megha-dúta*, verse 534, vol. ii. note, p. 380. Wilson's Works. London, 1864.

³ Bhilsa Topes, p. 354.

⁴ So written on the Rock at Dhauli—though the vernacular Books have Thupa, etc. The Sanskrit *Stúpa* is said by the Native grammarians to be derived from the root तूप् to heap, but the application of तप् in तप्स seems to negative this deduction.

⁵ Zend, *tap*, *tafnu* ; Persian, *تپ* ; Latin, *tepo*, *tepidus*, etc. ; Italian, *Tufo*,

signify the locality of cremation and the resting place of the remains of the dead. The Greek and Latin etymologies followed a parallel law, in *τυφο*, *τύμβος*, and *uro* (*buro*, *πῦρ*), *bustum*, which from an original application to the locality of incineration, eventually came to designate the mound of earth heaped over the ashes. The practice of incremation and raising tumuli over the cinerary remains of the deceased, was clearly an established institution in Behár in Sákya's time, and in its theoretical growth probably carried with it a certain amount of veneration for the tombs of kings, heroes, or saints, though Buddha himself clearly did not contemplate the extraordinary extension and development the worship of relics was destined to reach in the case of his own mortal ashes; the singular competition for portions of which, possibly gave an adventitious impulse to the faith he had introduced. His dying instructions to Ánanda were, that his obsequies should be conducted as those of a Chakkavattí Raja, which he himself is reported to have defined, "they consume the body of a Chakkavattí rája; and for a Chakkavattí rája they build the *thupo* at a spot where four principal roads meet."¹ As the worship of relics advanced in popularity, the original sepulchral Stúpas were devoted to new uses, as receptacles of objects of pretended sanctity, and later, in point of time, were furnished with secret passages, etc., to aid more effectively in the deception of the vulgar.² A curious instance of the progress of ideas, in this respect, is furnished

Tufa, hence *Tuff*. M. Pictet has collected a long array of other Aryan coincidences in p. 506 et seq. *Les origines Indo-Européennes*.

The Latin *Tumulus* is asserted to be derived from *tumeo*, to swell; but it seems very like a corruption of the Greek *τύμβος*. The name of *Chaitya* is borrowed; and the *Dághopa* is scarcely satisfactorily explained by *Dhátu gabhan* 'womb of a relic' (Maháwanso, p. 5). It would be more reasonable to derive the term from the root *दह* "to burn;" Zend, *daj*, whence *dakhna*, "lieu de combustion."

Cf. also, *غاید*, *دھم*, and the Arabic *دُن*.

¹ Turnour, J.A.S.B. vii. p. 1005; Dulva, As. Res. xx. 312; Prinsep's Essays, note p. 167, vol i. For other references to the subject of Topes, see As. Res. v. 132, x. 131; Elphinstone's Cábul, London, 1842, p. 108; Fergusson, J.R.A.S. viii. 30, and Handbook of Architecture, i. 8; Maháwanso, 107, et seq.; Masson, in Ariana Antiqua; Gen. Cunningham "Bhilsa Topes," London, 1854; Burnouf, Introd. Bud. Ind., Paris, 1844, pp. 355; ii. 672.

² Masson, in Ariana Antiqua, p. 118, etc.; Maháwanso, p. 211; Bombay Br. R.A.S. 1853, p. 11.

by the celebrated Manikyala Tope itself. The lowest level contained the cinerary urn of some early potentate or hierarch, sheltered under a massive stone slab; above this in the line of the centre of the Tope, at various elevations, were found two independant deposits,¹ evidently of subsequent insertion, or possibly following the rise and augmentation of the primary structure,² as we know that the more modern custom was to place the relics high up in the general mass,³ to secure ready access to them for the purposes of exhibition on stated occasions.⁴

(6.) The small Chhatra over the Stúpa scarcely demands independent notice, except in so far as to refer to this very early pictorial rendering of a symbol which Church and State equally affected; by the former the emblem was multiplied on the dome of the Topes in all imaginable directions,⁵ and in some cases adapted to a sevenfold superposition, a combination of much reputed efficacy,⁶ while in its course as an adjunct of royalty, and later as a regal device, it survived as the chosen heraldic symbol of the last Imperial House of Delhi.⁷

(7.) This temporarily most popular device with the early Buddhists and Indo-Scythians, like so many other cognate forms, seems to have had a home in India long before it was accepted as a symbol of *Dharma*. The original suggestion for the normal configuration may have taken its rise from an ideal combination of the Sun and the Moon, into the *Taurus*-like sign ♉—which appears in such frequent repetition on the representative weights of metal, that preceded and led up to actual coined money. The old design is clearly identical with the outline of the savage rendering of the idols of Jagganáth,⁸ and probably coincident in its origin. In its

¹ J. A. S. B. iii. p. 315, and vol. xxiii. p. 699; also, Prinsep's Essays, i, pp. 93, 101.

² Maháwanso, p. 4; Wilson, Ariana Antiqua, p. 39.

³ Maháwanso, pp. 107, 190; Bhilsa Topes, 322, et seq; Masson, in Ariana Antiqua, p. 60.

⁴ Hiouen Thsang, p. 216.

⁵ Bhilsa Topes, plate iii.

⁶ Low, Tr. As. Soc., iii. 99.

⁷ Coins, Marsden Num. Orient.; Prinsep's Essays, ii., N. T., p. 68.

⁸ Stevenson, J. R. A. S., vii. 8; viii. 331; Sykes, J. R. A. S., vi. 450; Bhilsa Topes, plate xxxii. p. 359, and Cunningham, J. R. A. S., xiii. p. 114. I do not concur in the fanciful derivation here suggested.

new form, with the duplicated and ornamental crescents, it may possibly have been associated with some modification of creed or subjected to dynastic adaptation, as the lunar races predominated over the local Súrya Vansas. Burnouf speaks of this device as entitled *Vardhamánakaya*, and adds, “c'est là encore une sorte de diagramme mystique également familier aux Brahmanes et aux Buddhîstes — son nom signifie ‘le prospère.’”¹ It is a curious coincidence, and one that may invite further comparisons, that the cuneiform sign for Taurus ፩ should prove so similar in its general outline to the rounded form of the hitherto incomprehensible ॐ of the Indian system. The dawning science of Astronomy, in its concurrent deceptive phase of Astrology, must readily have identified itself with kindred magic, in the interchange of signs and symbols, as in other mutual aids. One of the most singular of the primitive Buddhist designs, figured thus ဿ, occurs in a series of less-finished coins approximated in symbolic details to Kraṇanda's chosen Mint emblems, and is subsequently incorporated into the composite monograms of the Indo-Scythians,³ where it eventually takes the form of a line superposed by four balls,⁴ in which shape it still survives as the *Anurádhá* (अनुराधा), or the sign for the 17th Nakshatra⁵ of the Indian Zodiacal scheme.

(8.) The craft of serpent-charming in the East, probably from the very beginning, contributed a powerful adjunct towards securing the attention and exciting the astonishment of the vulgar—whether used as an accessory to the unpretentious contents of the juggler's wallet, or the more advanced mechanical appliances of professors of magic—who, among so many ancient nations progressively advanced the functions of their order from ocular deceptions to the delusion of men's minds and the framing of religions, of which

¹ Burnouf, p. 625. He refers also to *Maháwanso*, chap. xi. p. 70, line 3. “(Wad-dhamánan) kumárikan.”

² Rawlinson, J. R. A. S., vol. i., N. S., p. 224.

³ Prinsc's Essays, vol. i., pl. iii., figs. 10, etc.

⁴ Ibid, fig. 14. See also *Ariana Antiqua*, pl. xxii., figs. 155, 159, 160, 162.

⁵ As. Res. ii. 293. The device of the 17th lunar mansion is described as a “row of oblations.”—Goldstücker's Dictionary.

they constituted themselves the Priests. India, which so early achieved a civilization purely its own, would appear, in the multitude of the living specimens of the reptile its soil encouraged, to have simultaneously affected the mass of its population with the instinctive dread and terror of the scriptural enemy of mankind—a fear which, in the savage stage, led to a sacrificial worship similar to that accorded to less perceptible evil spirits. Hence the dominance of the belief in Nagas¹ which came to be a household and state tradition, and which especially retained its preëminence in the more local Buddhist faith.

(9). Trees with their grateful shade, and protection from the bright sun of the East, may well have been intuitively associated, from the earliest dawn of thought, with the gifts and minor attributes of a superior power. Such primitive reverence in India, on the part of the dwellers in the land, naturally ensured its own vitality among the subordinate adjuncts of localized creeds of higher pretensions—hence the ancient village tree of the more settled communities,² whose home was still within the reach and influence of the aboriginal Forest Tribes—came to be identified as a symbol of asceticism, and extended its meditative sanctity into the faith of Śākyā Muni, who himself submitted to a complete course of contemplations under the recognized inspiratory shadows.³ The Buddhist Bodhi-tree

¹ Wilson's Works, ii. 23; iii. 45; 194, 317. Burnouf, *Lalita Vistara*, Foucaux, pp. 11, 88. Huen Tsang, i. 94; ii. 323. "Two Kings of Dragons named Nanda and Upananda."

² "Then shall the ancient Tree, whose branches wear

The marks of village reverence and care."—Megha Duta, 157.

[Wilson's Note.]—A number of trees receive particular veneration from the Hindus: "as the Indian fig, the Holy fig-tree, the Myrobalan trees, etc. In most villages there is at least one of these, which is considered particularly sacred, and is carefully kept and watered by the villagers, is hung occasionally with garlands, and receives the *Pranām* or venerative inclination of the head, or even offerings and libations."—Wilson's Works, iv. 336.

Ward gives a list of seven Sacred Trees, independent of the *Tulasi* (तुलसी, *Ocymum sanctum*).—Ward's Hindus, iii. 203-4.

So also, Quintus Curtius, "Deos putant, quicquid oolere cooperunt, arbores, maxime, quas violare capital est." viii. 9, § 34.

In like manner *Chaitya* (चैत्य) originally implied "Any large tree held in peculiar sanctity; though the name was ultimately appropriated to the Buddhist Stupa, etc. See Wilson's Glossary, *sub. voce*, and Burnouf, i. 348. See also Stevenson, J. R. A. S. vol. v. p. 192. Sykes, *ibid.* vol. vi. p. 452.

³ Turnour, J.A.S.B. vii. 814.

was one only of the four already sacred shades, under which its most prominent teacher confessedly acquired perfection. With so authoritative a recommendation it is no marvel that the selected *Ficus* came to be universally typified amid the emblems of the reformed religion.

(10). The extensively spread symbol of the *Swastika* seems to have been held in scant respect by the Sanskrit speaking Aryans—as we find *Pánini* at an epoch anterior to Buddhas *Nirvána*, citing it as a mark for cattle.¹ This practical use of the figure in the *Punjáb* need not, however, have interfered with its reverence among the indigenous races more to the eastward, who may have accepted it as an inheritance from earlier and more crude forms of belief, and incorporated it as one of the prominent emblems of Buddhism;² while Brahmanism in its growth and fusion with the superstitions of the land eventually welcomed it into its own formulary. As to the sign itself, it appears to be a mere ornamental advance upon the simple cross lines, which might have suggested itself amid any uninformed people, without being identified, in its first inception, with any very definite meaning, while it was singular enough in its outline to attract the attention of professors of magic and cabalistic rites. The direction of the additional tail lines is not fixed and uniform, though the figure on the coins represents the favoured outline, but at times the foot strokes are reversed and curved after the pattern in use in the western³ triple configuration. The symbol was early affected by the Greeks; it is found on pottery from *Kamirus* of the sixth century B.C.; and with its duplicated lines it appears as the hieroglyph or prototype of the *Labyrinth* of Crete, on the coins of *Cnossus*, 500 to 450 B.C. In its im-

¹ Goldstücker, "Panini, his place in Sanskrit Literature," London, 1859, p. 69, "There is a rule of his (vi. 3, 115) in which he informs us, that the owners of cattle were at his time in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable. Such signs, he says, were, for instance, a *swastika*, a ladle, a pearl," etc.

² The *Tho-szu* or "Sectaries of the mystic cross are noticed by *Fa-Hien* (cap. xxii. xxiii.). Their doctrine is stated to have formed the ancient religion of Tibet, which prevailed until the general introduction of Buddhism in the ninth cent. A.D.

³ Num. Chron. N.S. vol. iv. the earliest Indian coinage, plate xi. Prinsep's Essays, pl. xx. fig. 26.

dependent Indian course, it was developed into the Nandivarta, which is figured thus



(11). I am unable to conjecture the intent or import of the singular emblem which appears below the Swastika. An earlier form of the device occurs on the introductory weight currency as but this outline suggests no more intelligible solution of its real import than the more advanced linear configuration. The design may possibly have emanated from some fortuitous combination of mystic signs of local origin, so many of which passed imperceptibly into the symbolizations of Buddhism. General Cunningham states that this device, or its modified form as seen on Krañanda's coins, is found on the necklace of Buddhist symbols on one of the Sanchi gateways.¹

¹ *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 354, and plate xxxi, figs. 10, 11, and xxxii. fig. 6.